The Formation of Regional Identity in Japan’s Modern Era: The 1909 Akita Tour

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近代日本における地方アイデンティティの形成
1909年の秋田観光

1909年（明治42年）夏、秋田県内の3新聞社が、東京などの新聞雑誌記者十数名を秋田県に招待した。目的は、秋田県の経済的・文化的状況を実際に見て、読者に伝えてもらう機会を提供することであった。一行のうち新渡戸稲造、中野正剛、永田新之允など15名が約束通り休験記を記し、これは同年「知られざる秋田」として刊行された。この秋田観光記者団はいくつかの観点から興味深い。第一、全国的に傑出した記者たちの旅行記が即座にアピールされた点である。第二、秋田県の近代経済・文化的発展のつぶさな観察にある。第三に最も興味深いのは、1909年観光は、近代日本における中心（中央政権・主要都市）と地方の関係についての問題を提起するという点である。明治時代の秋田を含め東北地方として知られるようになった6県は、全国的にあまり認識も理解もされていなかった。中央政府や専門家らは東北地方の経済成長が遅いことを懸念し、いわゆる「東北問題」について論じた。東北地方内の識者は自立と栄枯をもたらす発展モデルを見出して「後進」のイメージを払拭しようと必死になった。

本稿は、1909年の秋田観光とは、秋田県の指導者らが「東北問題」の根強い認識を克服するために講じた試みであったことを論ずる。彼らは「問題」ある地方の一部としての秋田に対するネガティブな認識を払拭し、豊かな自然と目覚ましい産業発展というポジティブな認識に変えようとした。世界中の経済先進国で地方の生き残りが議論されている今日、1909年の秋田観光は、地方が活力を持つことは当然でも簡単でなく、地方の内外における多大な努力の成果であったことを語っている。

キーワード：東北地方、地方アイデンティティ、近代経済発展

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I. Introduction: The 1909 Akita Tour

In 1909 three newspapers based in Japan's far northern Akita prefecture invited a group of journalists and writers to join a tour of the prefecture's major cities, economic centers, and places of national beauty. Their aim was to provide the visitors with an opportunity to see first hand, and then communicate to their readers, Akita's progress and accomplishments, especially in the spheres of economy and culture. More simply, in the words of Nitobe Inazō, they aimed to "introduce the riches and ambience [of Akita] to the entire nation."1

The journalists who accepted the invitation left Ueno Station on July 22, 1909, in a specially chartered train and arrived at the town of Yokote in southern Akita on the afternoon of the 23rd. They spent the next nine days following a carefully orchestrated course to places of note across the length and breadth of the prefecture. High-ranking representatives from government and the business community accompanied them throughout. Wherever they traveled, they were greeted with elaborate and enthusiastic hospitality, and they heard explanations about the characteristics and specific enterprises of the area. During and after their travels, at least 15 members of the group fulfilled their promise to record and report on what they had seen. Their gratified hosts assembled and republished the various accounts in book form later that same year. The title of the book, Shiraretaru Akita, was chosen to reflect the optimistic conclusion that, as a result of the tour, Akita had changed from being an "unknown" (shirarezaru) to a "known" (shiraretaru) place, both to the invited journalists and to their readers nationwide.

The 1909 Akita summer tour is interesting from several standpoints. First, there is the immediate appeal of the travel narrative – where the group went, how they were transported, what they saw and heard, and how they responded – told by multiple alert and experienced observers, each of whom attempted to convey his own perspective on the group’s experiences. A second point of interest lies in the close-up view offered of economic and cultural developments in Akita prefecture in the closing years of the Meiji era. While the national contours of Japan's modern economic and cultural transformation are well known, the details of regional change are less clear. For this reason, the journalists' descriptions of everyday life, social interactions, natural surroundings, and economic and industrial development in turn-of-the-century Akita offer an instructive collage of life in regional Japan after forty years of national modernization.

But there is a third, underlying point that embraces the first and second. The 1909 tour raises, and offers answers to, questions about the relationship between urban and rural, national and regional constituencies in modern Japan. Why did private and public leaders of Akita prefecture go to such trouble to prepare what was, even by the standards of city people, a luxury tour for influential journalists? And why did some of those journalists feel able to offer criticism or to write openly about what Nitobe Inazō referred to as the "Tōhoku problem"? Part of the answer lay in the specific historical and economic circumstances of Akita and its northeastern neighbors. Put simply, as Japan embarked on its modern transformation in the second half of the nineteenth century, the six prefectures of far northern Honshu, including Akita, that came to be known as the Tōhoku region, were relatively little known and little appreciated by residents of Tokyo and the areas to the south and west. One problem was distance: although land and sea routes developed in the Edo era had extended to the very northernmost part of Honshu, Akita, separated by mountainous terrain and more than five hundred kilometers from Edo, was
not easily accessed by outsiders.

More complex were issues of comparative development. While all regions of Japan experienced economic growth and rising living standards during the Edo period, the pace of change was significantly slower and the results less perceptible in the northeast than in the areas that lay to the south and west of Edo. By the opening years of the modern era, economic handicap had been compounded by historical accident. In the brief, but bitterly fought, Boshin civil war that accompanied the Meiji Restoration, most of the daimyō domains in northeastern Japan joined an ultimately unsuccessful attempt to support the Tokugawa Bakufu against the proponents of imperial restoration. They embarked on military resistance, and lost, entering the Meiji era as the defeated opponents of the new regime.

In the late nineteenth century and into the twentieth, as the Tokyo government worked to spur modern economic transformation across the nation, growth in the Tōhoku region remained sluggish. It was little wonder that discussions of development in the Tōhoku region - the so-called “Tōhoku problem” - persisted. Well-intentioned outsiders looked for ways of encouraging Tōhoku participation in the national project of economic growth; others doubted the wisdom of trying to impose a national project on a region that was climatically and culturally different from the regions of central and southwestern Japan. Across the Tōhoku region, political leaders and the educated elite struggled to shed the “backward” image by finding a model of development that would bring autonomy, pride, and a measure of prosperity. The reality, however, was that much of the Tōhoku region lagged economically: food shortages were chronic, and the harvest failures that struck Miyagi, Iwate, and Fukushima prefectures in 1905 were so severe that appeals for relief were publicized throughout Japan and overseas.²

It was against this background of negative publicity that the 1909 Akita tour can be understood. While Akita, too, had struggled - the mid-Meiji years had seen terrible poverty - it had a distinctive culture, impressive natural beauty, and nationally recognized timber and mining industries. In 1907, Kosaka mine had surpassed all competitors to become Japan’s most productive and technologically innovative copper mine. It is not surprising that it occupied a prominent place in the itinerary. The 1909 tour was Akita’s answer to the “Tōhoku problem.” It was an attempt not simply to have Akita known throughout Japan, but to have it known and appreciated positively.

II. The Tōhoku Problem in the Meiji Era

The use of Tōhoku as a regional name emerged out of the centralizing, nation-building policies of the Meiji government soon after its formation in 1868.³ During the Edo period, the northern part of Honshu was more commonly referred to as “Ōu,” a name derived from the ancient province names of Dewa and Mutsu, or “Michinoku,” beyond the normal paths. This is not to say that the word “Tōhoku” was unknown before the Meiji era. As Nanba Nobuo has noted, in 1851 Yoshida Shōin, from Chōshū domain in western Honshu, wrote “Tōhoku yū nikki (Journal of my travels in the northeast)” and in 1862 a Satsuma-domain samurai named Kinutsuki Kanetake wrote his “Tōhoku fidan (A discourse on the northeast).”⁴ In using the word “Tōhoku,” however, both were referring to a broad area from the Kanto region all the way north to Ezo. For them, as for most people in the Edo period, “Tōhoku” was an imprecise area located generally to the northeast rather than a geographically defined region.

From the early years of the Meiji era, the central government came to use the word more specifically to refer to the areas of resistance during the Boshin war;⁵ in 1871 it established a Tōhoku Garrison
(Tōhoku chindai) at Sendai, one of four garrisons in a national defense network. Through this and other usages, the term Tōhoku was transformed from a general direction into a specific region. With the consolidation of the Japan’s prefectural system in the 1880s, the Tōhoku region came to refer to the six prefectures of Fukushima, Miyagi, Yamagata, Iwate, Akita, and Aomori. (Occasionally, Niigata was included as a seventh prefecture.)

From the outset, however, the word “Tōhoku” carried negative associations, combining the recent history of military opposition to the Meiji government with the longer historical experience of impoverishment, famine, and isolation from Edo and the more economically advanced western provinces. One Meiji government official reported in 1871 that the “foolish people (gumin)” of the Iwate area did not even know about the imperial restoration. Returning from a tour of the “various Tōhoku prefectures,” another reported in 1874 that the people of the region were not hardworking, not well-educated, and not likely to put effort into the national project of industrialization. By contrast, when Kido Takayoshi accompanied the Meiji Emperor on his first official trip north in 1876, he was astonished to discover that the towns and cities of Fukushima and Miyagi were flourishing, and that children across the region were getting a satisfactory education. Kido’s surprise reflected the idea, already established in Tokyo, that the Tōhoku was a backward region which needed to be coaxed and led into modernity.

Indeed, considerable national resources were applied to Tōhoku regional development in the opening years of the Meiji era, focusing on the modernization of agriculture, fisheries, animal husbandry and mining. Accompanying Kido on the imperial tour of 1876, Ōkubo Toshimichi, head of the newly created Home Ministry, used the opportunity to put together his ideas on the development of the northeast. Based on his observations in Holland as a member of the Iwakura Mission, Ōkubo had a particular interest in Western-style water transportation as the basis of modern industry. He aimed to harness Tōhoku’s considerable resources - land, water, timber, minerals - to national industrial development by rebuilding harbors and waterways, expanding the acreage of agricultural land, and modernizing mining.

Because of its military uses and the urgent need to mint currency, mining had already been identified as a national priority. In order to introduce foreign technology, improve management, and increase production, the Meiji government took direct ownership of key mines in the 1870s, managing them from the Bureau of Mines in the Ministry of Industry (Kōshū). Initially, government efforts focused on the silver and gold mines that had been the most productive during the Edo era; the effort was later extended to include copper and the newly developing coal industry. Of 10 enterprises nationalized, six were gold, copper, and iron mines located in the Tōhoku region.

In 1878 Ōkubo successfully petitioned Councilor Sanjō Sanetomi to conduct a national bond issue to obtain funds for development. Although the ultimate goal was nationwide development, Ōkubo’s plan placed special emphasis on the modernization of harbors in the “various northeastern provinces” - from Miyagi on the Pacific coast to Niigata on the Japan Sea - in order to ensure the transportation of commodities to industrial centers throughout Japan. Of the 12.5 million yen raised, 31% was earmarked for harbors, roads, waterways, and mines in the Tōhoku region. (Ani and Innai mines in Akita received particularly large allotments of cash.) Central government initiatives were supported by handpicked prefectural officials such as the Satsuma-born Mishima Michitsune, who as governor of Yamagata, Fukushima and other prefectures from 1874, pushed forward road construction and other public works.
Government funds were applied to large-scale agricultural projects as well to new services such as banking and banks and telegraph. In 1881, the Nihon Tetsudo Kaisha was founded with funds from former daimyo in 1881; a rail connection from Ueno to Aomori via Shiogama was finished in 1891. On the western side, the Ōu line that linked Fukushima with Aomori was completed in 1905. All of these projects reflected the concern of the Meiji government to apply Western-style “scientific” technology to the development of primary industries in the Tōhoku region.

From the 1880s, however, central government policies on regional development changed. With the introduction of Finance Minister Matsukata Masayoshi’s regime of fiscal austerity, funds for large-scale public works declined. At the same time, the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce, newly established in 1881, shifted its interest away from the scientific and commercially-oriented Western agriculture that had been promoted in the 1870s in favor of rice production. After Japan became a net importer of rice in 1897, pressure to secure food for a growing population of urban, industrial workers intensified. The 1903 Agricultural Law established rice growing in well-drained fields as basic policy.

Although the idea of “Tōhoku” was thus advanced by the central government in the opening decades of the Meiji era, it also gained currency within some northeastern prefectures, especially on the Pacific side, as an expression of regional identity. The word “Tōhoku” was added to the titles of regional newspapers, beginning with the daily Tōhoku shinbun (founded in Sendai in 1874) and magazines, such as the bimonthly Tōhoku kyōiku shinbun (founded in Morioka in 1880). It was also included in the names of political associations as a way of promoting a positive regional identity. And, as modern technology and other advances transformed living conditions, those changes, though largely emerging from policies advanced outside the region, could nevertheless inspire in regional inhabitants a sense of pride attached to the notion of “Tōhoku.” The word had become sufficiently natural that, from the mid-1880s, when Christian missionaries focused their attention on the prefectures of northern Kanto, they named their work the “Tōhoku Mission.” In a book published in 1918 under the intriguing title Tōhoku, the Scotland of Japan, representatives of the Tōhoku Mission explained to American readers that the region was called Tōhoku “by the Japanese themselves” and that the “hardy and industrious people” of the region had their own particular characteristics that made them “considerably different from the Japanese of the Southwest.”

But in the closing years of the nineteenth century, as economic problems in the Tōhoku region emerged and questions were raised about the direction of development, negative associations of the word “Tōhoku” resurfaced. Despite the attention paid to rice growing, productivity and real profits were lower than in western Japan. The situation was made more difficult by changes in the land tax introduced to finance Japan’s wars against China (1894–95) and Russia (1904–05). Unlike some other regions which saw decreases, taxes in general rose in the northeast, causing widespread distress and prompting discussions about the suitability of rice production as the economic mainstay of the region. In 1905, the Tōhoku region was hit with extremely poor harvests, especially in Miyagi, Iwate, and Fukushima. The bad harvests had begun in 1902 and lasted in various areas until 1914. But in 1905, conditions were so bad that they were publicized throughout Japan and overseas. The American Washington Post reported on January 2, 1906, that “thousands are starving” in what it described as the worst famine to hit the area since 1846. A month later it announced, more insistently, that “unless relief is forthcoming, the northeastern provinces of Japan will suffer from a most disastrous famine.” In fact,
relief did come. The American authors of *Tohoku, the Scotland of Japan* noted that the Rev. William E. Lampe of the Tohoku Mission headed a relief committee that included representatives of the various Christian organizations in the region: “Large gifts of money poured in from all over the world, and great quantities of rice and other foodstuffs were also sent in. Between 200,000 and 250,000 people were fed and a still larger number of people given employment.” That even foreigners would feel the need to offer assistance confirmed the status of the Tōhoku as a backward, impoverished region, not only in the eyes of government leaders and people in other areas of Japan but also in the eyes of Tōhoku people themselves.

In 1906, Hangai Seiju (1858-1932), entrepreneur, politician, and agricultural reform activist from Fukushima prefecture, published a book called *Shōrai no Tōhoku* (Tōhoku of the Future). Hangai argued that the development of the Tōhoku region was being hindered by the protective – but also restrictive – policies of the central government. Hangai complained that the agriculture currently practiced in the northeastern prefectures represented nothing less than an invasion of crops imported from warmer regions of Japan and, as such, brought maximum disadvantage, including the constant threat of famine. Instead of trying to produce rice in the manner of the warmer regions, the Tōhoku region should develop its own economic policies, including direct trade with Manchuria, Korea, and Siberia. At the same time, transportation and communications should be expanded to increase solidarity within the region. In short, in order to be strong, the Tōhoku region needed to develop from within.

Hangai’s book was widely read. Its success was helped by the inclusion of a preface written by Nitobe Inazō, native of Iwate, nationally recognized scholar of agricultural development, and newly appointed head of the prestigious Number One High School in Tokyo. In 1898, Nitobe had argued in his *Nogyō honron* (The Basic Principles of Agriculture) both the importance of agriculture as the basis of an industrial society and the difficulties facing rural communities. He pointed out that, across the industrializing world, including Japan, people, food and minerals from rural areas were being sucked into cities for industrial development. Moreover, within rural areas, the development of railways in particular, was causing development along the thin line (*sen*) of rail development rather than across a broad area (*men*). Although Nitobe did not refer specifically to the Tōhoku region in his own book, in the preface to *Shōrai no Tōhoku* he wrote that, while studying agriculture in Germany, he had reached the conclusion that rice could not be grown in optimal conditions above a line that stretched west-east from the Noto Peninsula in the west to the Izu peninsula in the east. Nitobe thus threw his scholarly weight behind Hangai’s suggestion that rice agriculture was not necessarily suited to the Tōhoku region.

Although Hangai’s appeal was for developing Tōhoku from within, his book ironically attracted interest among politicians and business leaders active outside the region, including Masuda Takashi, chairman of the Mitsui zaibatsu, and the Home Minister, Hara Takashi, a native of Iwate prefecture. Masuda wrote a series of newspaper articles about the need to come up with the best and most suitable plan of development for the Tōhoku region. It was through the cooperation of Masuda, Hara, and the entrepreneur Shibusawa Eichi that in 1913 a new organization, the Tōhoku Shinkōkai (Association for the Advancement of the Tōhoku Region), was established in Tokyo for the purpose of identifying and promoting development opportunities. However, the association immediately gained fame for its efforts in offering assistance to Tōhoku residents following a harvest failure in 1913, assuring that the
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“advancement” of the Tōhoku region would actually mean “giving relief to” the Tōhoku region. Well intentioned though it was, as Asano Gengo, native of Iwate prefecture and trustee of the Association, wrote, Tōhoku Shinkōkai simply made people feel embarrassed.

III. Economic Development in Akita

The Edo Era

Although terms such as “Tōhoku region” and “Tōhoku problem” emphasized the shared characteristics of the six northeastern prefectures in the late Meiji era, they masked some significant differences in geography, economy, politics, and culture. Consider, for example, Akita prefecture. Looking out on the Japan Sea to the west and the Ōu mountains to the east and with the Dewa Mountains running roughly north-south through the center, Akita prefecture, which corresponds roughly to the ancient province of Dewa, was distinguished by the particular industries it developed in the Edo period, by the circumstances of its transition into the Meiji era, and by the content of its economic growth in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Japan's modern economic growth was built on the impressive economic and population growth of the Edo period. While economic development was most advanced in the warmer, western parts of Japan, northeastern Japan also experienced growth, particularly in Dewa Province, on the Japan Sea side of the mountains. Dewa was divided into several daimyo domains, of which Akita domain, governed by the outside (tozama) Satake daimyo, was the largest. Under stable political conditions, the area now occupied by Akita prefecture experienced economic growth based on rice agriculture, a strong regional sake industry, horse raising, timber, and the mining of silver, gold and copper, raising the overall economic level relative to the Pacific side of the Tōhoku region.

It was the mining industry especially that stimulated the regional economy and linked it with the “national” economy overseen by the Tokugawa Bakufu. Japan's mining industry had, in fact, enjoyed its first period of explosive growth before the Tokugawa era. From the sixteenth century, both silver and gold were extracted from the mines of Sado Island; silver was mined at Ikuno and Iwami, both located in western Honshu, and at Innai, in northeastern Dewa province. Copper was mined at Besshi, in Shikoku, and most successfully at Ani and Osarizawa, in Dewa and Mutsu provinces respectively. Iron and sand-mining formed the basis of cast iron manufacture in various locations across Mutsu Province. (Of these mining sites, Innai, Ani, and Osarizawa all belong to present-day Akita prefecture.) In the 1590s, Japan was the biggest exporter of silver in Asia, and, for at least half a century after its establishment in 1603, the Tokugawa Bakufu drew significant revenues from gold and silver mining. Throughout the Tokugawa era, metals were increasingly important for currency, for domestic and foreign trade, and for making tools and other implements.

The northeastern mines came into particular prominence in the eighteenth century, when gold and silver supplies had diminished, and the Bakufu focused its attention on copper. The Ani mine in Dewa province had begun operations as a silver producer around 1575. Soon afterwards gold was discovered, and silver and gold alternated in importance through the seventeenth century. Meanwhile, copper production began in about 1622, expanded significantly from the 1660s, and by the turn of the eighteenth century dominated mine output, and the regional economy. In 1702 the Satake daimyo of Akita domain took over the direct management of the mine. By the 1730s, Akita domain was the largest producer of
copper in Japan, and Ani was Akita's richest copper source. Ani copper was important enough that in the 1760s the Bakufu made an unsuccessful attempt to take over the mine. In the second half of the eighteenth century, output declined and the Akita domain government struggled to meet Bakufu-imposed production quotas. Nevertheless, Ani entered the modern era as Japan's most productive copper mine.

Ani's closest regional rival was Osarizawa, located on the eastern side of the Ōu mountains in the Morioka domain of the Nanbu daimyo.30 Opened as a gold mine around 1598, it switched to copper from the 1670s. Around 1710, Morioka domain took formal control of the mine and from 1715 shipped copper regularly to Nagasaki to meet Bakufu-imposed quotas. Despite intensified pressure from the Bakufu to increase production, however, output dropped off in the 1780s. Meanwhile, the Innai silver mine, which, like Ani and Osarizawa, had been in operation since the 1590s, peaked in the opening decades of the seventeenth century and then entered a long period of decline. In 1817, the Akita domain government took control of the mine and managed to achieve significant gains in output. In the 1830s Innai became Japan's most productive silver mine.

The changing fortunes of the northeast's three major mines - Ani, Osarizawa, and Innai - indicate some of the weaknesses and strengths of the mining industry during the Edo era. Technological progress was poor, even in crucial areas such as drainage, making flooding a chronic problem. Fluctuations in output were extreme. Management alternated between daimyo governments and outside contractors who worked under limited-term licenses; when problems emerged, mines might be temporarily shut down, or even abandoned. Moreover, political decisions by the Tokugawa Bakufu, rather than market mechanisms, determined prices and destinations for the precious minerals, and even decisions on what and where to mine. For these reasons, the mere existence of valuable copper or silver mines did not translate directly into better living standards for most people in the surrounding region. Indeed, from the late eighteenth century, villages across the northeast reported evidence of hardship, including increasing numbers of failed and runaway farmers; at least some of the runaways were fleeing their villages to avoid paying burdensome taxes.31 In the 1780s and 1830s, repeated harvest failures created dire food shortages.

Nevertheless, in addition to meeting the national need for exports and currency, mining had a stimulating effect on the regional economy. Lead needed for refining had to be bought and delivered to mines; iron for tools was brought from Morioka, and later Tazawa; forests were exploited - around Ani, excessively - to supply wood for mine construction and for fuel.32 Silver and copper had to be shipped more than a thousand kilometers to Nagasaki: silver was carried out from Ani by packhorse; copper from Ani was shipped along the Yoneshiro River. In addition, mining communities, in good times numbering several hundred or a thousand people, were centers of consumption for daily life goods such as rice, oil, sake, and soy sauce. In this way, large-scale silver and copper mining diversified the economy of the areas that were to become Akita prefecture, marking their distinctiveness from other districts of the northeast.

**The Modern Era**

Akita's transition to the modern era also separated it from some of its northeastern neighbors. In the opening weeks of 1868, the forces supporting the establishment of a new imperial regime defeated defenders of the Tokugawa in an important military victory at Toba-Fushimi near Kyoto.33 Following up
on this victory, the imperial supporters embarked on a campaign to punish their remaining opponents in the northeast, including the powerful Tokugawa-related Matsudaira daimyo of Aizu domain and the *fudai* Sakai daimyo of Tsuruoka (Shōnai) domain. In response, the various daimyo of the northeast formed a coalition to support Aizu and Shōnai in resisting the new regime: this was the beginning of the so-called Boshin (or 1868) War. Although the Satake daimyo of Akita joined some 23 other northeastern daimyo in sending representatives to the first meeting of the coalition held at Shiraishi in Sendai (Date) domain in the spring of 1868, by summer it had broken away from the coalition and was following orders from the imperial side. Akita’s stance enraged its former coalition partners, who then launched a series of military attacks on areas inside Akita territory: Morioka (Nanbu) domain forces stormed Ōdate castle in the north; Sendai and Tsuruoka domain forces attacked from the south. The assaults did not stop until units of the imperial army arrived in Akita and decisively defeated the attackers. By the fifth month of 1869, the rebel daimyo had surrendered, bringing the Boshin war to an end. With the rule of the Meiji government established across the northeast, military conflict within regional group of the northeastern daimyo also ended. Memories of both sets of conflicts, of course, persisted.

With the Meiji era came new administrative arrangements and a national policy of industrial development. Akita prefecture, established in 1871, consisted of eight districts. Akita domain supplied six of the districts. Of the other two, Yuri district, which included rich agricultural land, was formed from several small domains in the south. Kazuno district, which included good forests as well as the newly developed Kosaka silver mine, had previously been part of Morioka domain. Although it has been said that the Meiji government treated Akita no more favorably than other northeastern prefectures despite its support during the Boshin War, the addition of these districts – particularly Kazuno – significantly increased Akita’s economic capacity in the modern era.

Development in Akita fit the national policy of economic and social transformation established by the Meiji government. In particular, Governor Ishida Eikichi, a Tosa native who held office from 1875 to 1883, implemented new policies regarding the land tax, compulsory education, and local government. As part of the effort to promote new industries, the prefecture built a silk textile factory in the town of Akita, offering work to some 150 daughters of former samurai; several privately owned textile companies also began business. To modernize agriculture according to Western scientific principles, experimental stations were established, associations for exchanging seeds and plants were founded, and considerable energy was put into educating farmers. Akita forests offered cedar and other timber varieties for a modern lumber industry.

But Akita’s biggest industrial development was in mining, the industry that had attracted particular attention from the Meiji government. If the Tōhoku region had abundant mineral resources compared with other regions of Japan, Akita prefecture was distinguished within the Tōhoku region for silver and, increasingly, for copper. In the opening years of the Meiji era, the central government sent various representatives to scour the Akita area for potentially productive mines. Four of the six Tōhoku mines taken over by the government were located in Akita: Innai and Ani, which had been major producers of silver and copper, respectively, in the Edo era, a smaller gold mine located at Ōkuzo in the northeast part of the prefecture; and Kosaka, which had been developed by Morioka domain as a silver mine mine since 1866 but had become part of Akita prefecture in 1871. Each of these was developed as model enterprises; each had foreign mine experts in residence during part of the 1870s and early 1880s.
As established leaders of the industry, Ani and Innai received large infusions of government capital. Ani, Japan's largest copper producer in the Edo period, was nationalized in 1875, and received 1.1 million yen – the largest single amount – in the special public works budget prepared in 1878. In the following year, German mining specialist Adolf Mekkel arrived in the town with four compatriots to begin the task of modernization. Similarily, Innai, which for about 10 years from the 1830s was Japan's largest source of silver, was taken over by the Meiji government in 1870, received funds for modernizing in the 1870s, and had foreign experts in residence from 1879. In both locations the foreigners, who were paid generously and lived in specially built western-style residences, rebuilt the mines with wider, better-ventilated tunnels and improved drainage. They also installed new blast furnaces and introduced new refining technology. So impressive were the results that when the Meiji Emperor embarked on his second tour of the Tohoku region in 1881, both Ani and Innai were on his itinerary.

The Kosaka mine also modernized rapidly. Taken over as a government model enterprise in 1870, it was rebuilt with new furnaces and up-to-date European refining technology under the guidance of Curt Netto, who arrived at Kosaka in 1873 as a 26-year-old university-trained engineer from Freiburg and remained until 1877. Netto redesigned the mines and rebuilt the furnaces in order to introduce the latest European technology, including the Ziervogel process for extracting silver from silver sulphate. The new methods increased significantly the percentage of silver and copper that could be extracted from the ore.

In the 1880s, the Meiji government sold off its businesses to private companies. In 1884, it sold Kosaka mine to the Fujita-gumi Company, established in Osaka just three years earlier. One year later, Furukawa Ichibei (1832-1903), owner of Ashio mine since 1878, bought the Ani and Innai mines. (Osarizawa mine, which had remained in private hands, became part of Mitsubishi in 1887.) The sales brought to Akita prefecture some of Japan's most aggressive entrepreneurs, together with competent managers and engineers, who competed to increase mine output and profitability. Ani fared least well. Problems such as winter access for freight limited growth, and by the end of the Meiji era it had dropped to tenth place nationally in copper production. Under Furukawa’s management, Innai continued to expand. In 1889, for the first time in about half a century, it regained the top position among Japan's silver mines. However, after Japan adopted the gold standard in 1897, the price of silver fell dramatically. Although Innai kept its number one position until 1905, the silver industry moved into a long-term decline.

Kosaka survived the downturn in silver prices in a surprising way. Under Fujita-gumi leadership, it expanded production and in 1888 - the year before Innai took the crown - Kosaka mine was the largest silver producer in Japan. In the 1990s, however, dwindling supplies of silver combined with the 1897 drop in silver prices to bring the mine to the brink of closure. In 1900, a team of engineers, including Takeda Kyosaku (1867-1945), succeeded in using the pyritic ore surrounding the deeper layers of kuroko to access the copper it contained. That technological breakthrough, achieved for the first time in Japan, revolutionized mining operations at Kosaka and transformed it from a primarily silver to a primarily copper mine. In 1907, Kosaka surpassed Ashio briefly to become Japan's most productive copper mine.

The remarkable achievements of Akita's mining industry did not raise living standards uniformly across the prefecture. From the 1880s, there was chronic poverty in agricultural villages: an 1885
survey found that in one village, as many as 18% of households reported difficulty in getting three meals a day. In the 1890s a general recession depressed all kinds of wage labor. Even in mining communities, such as Kosaka, where economic conditions were significantly better, workers complained of low wages, and residents launched protests about the excessive concentrations of sulphur that polluted the atmosphere and destroyed vegetation. It was even noted that, rather than reflecting the desires of Akita people, the successes of mining were produced by outside companies who invested outside capital and made outside profits. In this respect, Akita residents also experienced aspects of the "Tōhoku problem" that Hangai Seiju and others had drawn attention to.

But mining brought economic, social, and cultural transformations to Akita prefecture that distinguished it in crucial respects from its Tōhoku neighbors and even offered reasons for pride. For example, the development of a modern mining industry was accompanied by improvements in basic infrastructure - electric power, water supply, transportation, and communications - that modernized not only the mines but also daily life in the surrounding communities. Mines attracted people - including mine laborers, skilled engineers and managers, and people engaged in a range of related service and consumer industries. In this sense, mining communities were characterized by relatively high-paying jobs, the diffusion of modern technology, a strong service economy, and a high level of cultural achievement. In Kosaka, new housing, schools, library, hospitals and entertainment facilities indicated an increasingly modern town.

The economic importance of its mining industry also raised Akita's profile nationally and internationally. The record of Kosaka and Innai mines during the Meiji era confirmed Akita's place at the top of Japan's mining industry. Moreover, since mining was a global industry and copper, in particular, a major export - it ranked fourth in Japan's exports at the end of the Meiji era - the successes of Ani and Kosaka were also recognized internationally. Such achievements belied notions of backwardness or dependence that underlay the discussion of the "Tōhoku problem." It was no surprise that the modern achievements of Akita prefecture - and in particular those of Kosaka - featured prominently in the tour planned for Tokyo journalists in the summer of 1909.

IV. The 1909 Tour

The idea of inviting Tokyo-based journalists to Akita prefecture came from three of the prefecture's leading news publications: the Akita Sakigake Shinpōsha and Akita Jiji newspapers and the Tōhoku Köron magazine. Of these, the Akita Sakigake Shinpōsha, founded in 1874 as one of Japan's earliest newspapers, had national recognition; the Tōhoku Köron had started just two years earlier as a forum for public discussion. The simple reason for the invitation was stated repeatedly in the prefaces contributed to Shiraretaru Akita, the published record of the trip. Although Akita had places of great natural beauty and economic importance, it was barely known to people outside the region. The news companies wanted, therefore, to show Tokyo journalists first hand what the prefecture had to offer so that they could inform their readers throughout Japan.

At least 18 journalists accepted the invitation. Following instructions, they recorded their observations as they traveled, and even mailed articles in to their own news offices. After their return, 15 people offered articles for inclusion in Shiraretaru Akita; two sent more than one. Shiraretaru Akita offers no hint about how the journalists were chosen or whether, in fact, it had been difficult to get people to
accept. One member, Asada Kōsan of the magazine Taiyō, wrote that his invitation came quite by chance and not long before the trip. The journalists included in the volume represented 11 newspapers, including the Tōkyō Nichinichi Shinbun, Kokumin Shinbun, Tōkyō Asahi Shinbun and Hōchi Shinbun, and two magazines, Taiyō and Jitsugyō no Nihon. From their various, and sometimes contradictory, articles, we can glean something of what they experienced in Akita prefecture.

On the night of July 22, 1908, a specially prepared train left Ueno Station, carrying 16 Tokyo journalists as well as representatives of the sponsoring news organizations and Akita prefecture’s government and business community. Journalists from Ibaraki and Yamagata seem to have joined later. Loaded with food and comforts, the train traveled north to Fukushima on the Jōban line, then followed the Ōu line through Yonezawa (where there was a stop for breakfast), and on through Yamagata and Shinjō into Akita prefecture. By daylight, the visitors were attracting considerable attention from local people. A brass band welcomed them at one station; at Yonezawa, representatives of the local press joined them on the platform for a photograph, and some rode on the train as far as Yamagata. When the train passed through Innai later in the morning, it was greeted with fireworks. Around one o’clock in the afternoon, it pulled into Yokote, and the guests alighted to receive their first welcome inside Akita prefecture from Governor Mori Masataka and the mayor of Akita City. Three hours later they were back on board, headed for Ōmagari, where they were welcomed again, this time with a splendid banquet on river boats, and finally allowed to sleep.

The events of that first day set the pace for the rest of the trip. The visitors traveled by train and boat where they were available; at other times they used jinrikisha or were led on mounted horseback. Map 1 shows the itinerary. On July 24, they traveled to Akita City, where they visited a horse stud farm, an agricultural research station, an oil well-head and a water reservoir, as well as city offices and the library. From Akita, they followed the coast north: by train to Tsuchisaki on the 25th; by train, carriage, and ship to Funagawa on the 26th; and as far as Nōshiro by the night of the 27th. From Nōshiro, their route took the guests to the far eastern side of the prefecture. They reached the hot springs town of Ōyu by the night of the 28th. On the 29th, they set off for Lake Towada, switching to horseback for the final 24 kilometers. There they rested for two nights, before setting off, again by horseback, to Kosaka. A farewell banquet, equally splendid as their welcome dinner in Ōmagari, was held at the company club of Fujita-gumi Company on the night of July 31. From Kosaka the group headed back through Ōdate and Yokote; on the morning of August 4, they arrived back in Tokyo.

The strenuous and carefully planned schedule highlighted two themes that the Akita hosts emphasized often in their speeches and information sessions: their prefecture’s great natural riches and its modern industrial progress. Usually, the two were woven together. For instance, as the visitors traveled along the coastal route north from Akita, they were shown not only the magnificent views of mountains and ocean but also the modern shipping port of Funagawa, Japan’s only asphalt source at nearby Okubo, the Akita Timber Company, and an electric power station. As they moved inland from Nōshiro, they observed not only the natural splendor of the famed Akita cedar forests but the work of the Yoneshiro Timber Company. At Lake Towada - so important to the tour that it required elaborate preparations for horseback travel - they saw not only breathtaking beauty but also productive fisheries. And at Kosaka, they saw Akita’s copper resources being transformed into valuable export income through the application of Japan’s most advanced mining technology.
1909 Tour of Akita Prefecture
Itinerary

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<th>Date</th>
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<tr>
<td>July 22</td>
<td>Night train from Ueno</td>
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<td>July 23</td>
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<td>July 24</td>
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<td>July 30</td>
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<td>July 31</td>
<td>Kosaka</td>
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<tr>
<td>Aug 3</td>
<td>Night train to Ueno</td>
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Source: Map of Imperial Government Railways, 1914,
in *Japan Imperial Government Railways—Travellers' Handy Guide*,
Traffic Department, Imperial Government Railways, Tokyo, 1914.

Map 1: The 1909 Tour of Akita Prefecture
Everywhere the guests were treated to detailed explanations of Akita's progress, particularly in economic development. Much of what they were told appears in the articles they submitted to Shiraretaru Akita. The Akita spokesmen explained that the economy of Akita was based firmly on primary industry, especially agriculture and animal husbandry, mining, forests, and fishing. They emphasized the tremendous efforts being made to convert these natural riches into modern, scientific, and productive industries. Moreover, although they did not fail to mention problems, such as the pressing need for financial and human capital, the Akita hosts invariably communicated a sense of pride in their achievements and optimism about the future. They also created opportunities for the guests to meet their most successful citizens: men like Wainai Sadayuki (1858-1922), who left an impressive career as engineer at Kosaka mine to establish a flourishing trout fishery at Lake Towada. But the message conveyed about Akita was not narrowly economic. Through the elaborate hospitality they offered at every meal in every stay, the Akita representatives invited their guests indirectly to appreciate what their prefecture had to offer as a destination rich both in tradition and in modernity. Most of the dinners reflected Akita traditions with local fish and meat, good rice and sake, and service by beautiful Akita women. Occasionally, as in the final dinner at Kosaka, they showed their cultural diversity and modernity by serving a Western-style dinner and French champagne.

It is impossible to read Shiraretaru Akita without gaining some sense of the mutual anticipation, excitement, and satisfaction that the summer tour had generated. Overall, it can be concluded that the journalists from Tokyo were impressed with what they saw and heard. All expressed gratitude for the hospitality and kindness they received not only from their immediate hosts but from the ordinary Akita people they met wherever they traveled. Many wrote of their satisfaction in having the opportunity to see first hand a far and unfamiliar prefecture. Most marveled at the beauty of the Japan Sea coast, the northern forests, and the mythic Lake Towada. Several took special note of the Kan'on-do, a public relief organization that had provided food to the destitute since its origins in the Edo period. Many expressed the high valuation they placed on Akita's progress. Asada Kōson of Taiyō concluded that Akita had the greatest riches among all the prefectures of the Tōhoku region, and perhaps in all of northern Japan. After listening to a discussion conducted between the governor of Akita prefecture and the mayor of Akita City, a young Nakano Seigō, recently employed at Tokyo Nichinichi Shinbun, expressed his conviction that Akita could be compared with Scotland. Just as Scotland's recent development had surpassed that of England in the south, so it could be expected that Akita's prosperity would soon surpass that of the southwestern prefectures.

Not all of the observations included such ringing endorsements. Many of the visitors pointed out problems facing Akita, and offered sympathetic advice. Arguing that the basic problem was undeveloped resources, Nagata Shinnojō of the magazine Jūsugyō no Nihon recommended the formation of a business organization - he used a variant of the English word "syndicate" - to assemble the capital and manpower necessary to achieve modern development. On the other hand, after visiting Kosaka, target of enormous capital investment by the Osaka-based Fujita-gumi Company, the journalists expressed a range of opinions, not only about the mine but also about its impact on the living environment of the town. Asada Kōsan was consistently positive, concluding that Kosaka incorporated the best technology that the world's mining civilization could offer. However, arriving in Kosaka by horse from Lake Towada, Abe Michiie of Kokumin Shinbun, was shocked by the jarring view of a
modern mining town and by the discordant sounds of dynamite and working men.\textsuperscript{57}

Okano Hibari of \textit{Tokyō Asahi Shinbun} was the most openly critical. Scoffing at the claims that Kosaka’s mine output, mining equipment, and forests were all “the best in the Far East,” he criticized Akita people for letting one valuable resource destroy another: “While taking pride in having the most beautiful forests in the Far East, Akita people consider it unavoidable that the [Kosaka] mine spews out the most poisonous gases in the Far East, causing those beautiful forests to wither and damaging the fertile paddy.”\textsuperscript{58} Noting that Fujita-gumi had paid little of the compensation demanded by Kosaka residents for the damage to crops and health, Okano wrote that the people of Akita were unconcerned about the environmental problem: “Of course, [modern] civilization is destruction,” said one of his hosts. His final comments on Akita’s start was also guarded. Noting the local refrain of “Akita is a good place,” he concluded, notwithstanding: “The future of Akita prefecture is contained in just two characters: “do-ryoku (effort).”\textsuperscript{59}

\textbf{V. Conclusion}

Why did journalists invited to observe and report on conditions in Akita prefecture feel able to offer advice or criticism as part of their travel reports? And why, after all, had Akita people taken such trouble, time, and expense to show their prefecture to outsiders who might be expected to take a critical stance? The answer to both questions lies in the perceptions and public discourse about the Tōhoku region that framed both the invitation from Akita residents and the responses of their guests.

Although the tour focused specifically on the prefecture of Akita, it is clear from their frequent uses of words such as “Tōhoku” and “Tōhoku chihō (Tōhoku region)” that the journalists saw it as a trip to the Tōhoku region. Nakano Seigō entitled his essay “Tōhoku Yoranki (Record of a Trip around the Tōhoku)”\textsuperscript{60} Asada Kōson opened his account with the claim that the wealth of Akita prefecture was “number one in the Tōhoku.”\textsuperscript{61} Even more tellingly, Nagata Shinnojō’s proposal for a syndicate to develop the region appeared under the title, “Tōhoku kigyōdan no soshiki wa konnichi no kyōmu (The Organization of Business Groups in Tōhoku is the Pressing Business of Today).”\textsuperscript{62} Referring to the debate - fuelled by books such as Hangai Seiju’s \textit{Shōrai no Tōhoku} published three years earlier - on establishing an association to research Tōhoku development, Nagata argued that the region needed not just an association to gather information but an organization that would actually carry out the important work of development. Drawing on his experiences in Akita prefecture, Nagata related the story of a local man whose silk-growing business was stifled by high interest rates. He concluded that conditions in Akita were typical of the Tōhoku region and that help had to come from outside – in the form of a business “syndicate.”

But it was not only the visitors who looked at Akita through the lens of the Tōhoku region. The prefaces to \textit{Shiraretaru Akita} reveal that the hosts themselves were acutely aware that they were part of the national Tōhoku debate and felt obliged to acknowledge critical comments from outside. Takizawa Takeshi, who compiled the volume, thanked the Tokyo journalists not only for introducing the natural and human beauty of Akita to their audiences but also for the “useful advice” they offered on industrial development and the “appropriate stimulus” they provided in relation to solving the “Tōhoku problem.”\textsuperscript{63} Ando Wafū, president of \textit{Akita Sakigake Shinpōsha}, was even more direct. In his “Preliminary Words, Bitter Words, Prophetic Words,” Ando thanked the visitors for writing warm and detailed explanations
and expressed satisfaction that Akita prefecture had become known to a national readership. On the other hand, he warned his Akita countrymen that their task was not done. Only by working hard to develop the riches of Akita and realizing the “so-called advancement of the Tōhoku” could they secure their future in the struggle for existence that lay ahead.

And finally, if those “bitter words” were not enough, the editors included as the first essay of the volume an article by Nitobe Inazō entitled “The Public Outcry Regarding the Tōhoku Problem.” A native of Morioka prefecture who was nationally recognized as scholar, administrator, and educator, Nitobe could speak authentically to a regional as well as a national audience. He expressed satisfaction that the Tōhoku region was attracting attention among broad sections of the public and within the national government. Referring to the debate on the “Tōhoku problem,” he stressed the need for an advancement strategy that, by taking proper account of particular regional characteristics, would benefit not only the nation but also the individual citizens in the Tōhoku region itself.

The words of the volume editors and Nitobe Inazō confirm that the 1909 tour was much more than a pleasant plan to secure greater national recognition for a far and “unknown” prefecture. In the late Meiji era, Akita prefecture was already firmly identified as part of the Tōhoku region, “known” for its poverty, for its dependence on outside assistance, and for its inability to develop a sustained trajectory of development. In planning the tour, the Akita sponsors were attempting to distinguish Akita from the Tōhoku region. They aimed to replace the negative knowledge of Akita as part of a “problem” region by a positive knowledge that Akita prefecture possessed abundant resources that it was exploiting to achieve industrial growth. The tour was carefully structured to showcase these twin themes of natural riches and impressive industrial progress.

On the other hand, the eagerness with which government and businesses leaders in Akita cooperated to show off their achievements to the outsiders suggests that Akita people had absorbed some of the negative impressions that had been generated about the Tōhoku region. By using terms such as “Tōhoku problem” and the “advancement of the Tōhoku,” they were acknowledging that the characterizations contained some truth. In particular, by focusing so directly on the issue of development in their prefecture in Shiraretaru Akita, the Akita hosts indicated that, like the visiting journalists and others involved in the public discussion of the “Tōhoku problem,” they recognized that development at the prefectural and regional level was indeed the major challenge facing them.

Today, across the globe, as economic, cultural and political dominance appears to have shifted to urban areas, the role of regions and rural communities is also under scrutiny. Regional communities are less distinctive, less economically viable, and less influential in national affairs than they were one hundred, fifty, or even twenty years ago, prompting new concerns about their future, and new efforts to adjust policies to a rapidly changing reality. The inhabitants of regional towns and villages - on average poorer, less educated, and older than their urban counterparts - are experiencing doubts about their importance to the wider nation and their prospects for survival. Fuelling their concerns, some observers worry that the marginalization of regions reflects the loss of values founded on direct social and personal relationships that have sustained human civilization through its long history.

Highlighting these fears about the decline of the regions are the contrasting memories of regional prominence, even in living memory. It is true that in Britain and the United States, as well as in Japan, the rapid industrial growth of the early modern and modern eras was supported by regional productivity: in
population, food production, primary industries, and the exploitation of mineral and water resources. Even as the urban centers came to dominate economically, rural areas remained important centers of education, religion, and culture. In Japan, the role of the regions was enhanced in the Meiji era by the emergence of prefectures, which not only had responsibility for conducting major governing functions but also could be easily measured and compared against each other.

However, limiting one's view to relatively recent eras can obscure the fact that regional communities, in Japan and elsewhere, are neither natural nor unchanging physical units. They have been constructed over time, taking shape, breaking apart, and re-forming as a result of changing political and cultural realities. They have experienced periods of growth and re-definition as well as decline. The history of the Tōhoku region in the Meiji era, and the story of the 1909 Akita tour within it, shows that Japanese regions, even during the period of vigorous modern growth, did not emerge easily or naturally. A century later, in the context of widespread fear for the “decline of the regions” worldwide, it is helpful to recall that regional vitality in the modern era was the product of deliberate effort within and outside of regional borders.

5 Iwamoto Yoshiteru, Tōhoku kaihatsu 120 nen (Tōsei Shobō, 1994), pp. 3-11.
6 Nanba, pp. 215-16.
10 Iwamoto, Tōhoku kaihatsu 120 nen, pp. 18-22; Iwamoto Yoshiteru, “Tōhoku kaihatsu o kangaeru - uchi kara no kaihatsu, soto kara no kaihatsu,” in Rekishi no naka no Tōhoku: Nihon no Tōhoku, Ajia no Tōhoku, pp. 241-44.
12 Iwamoto, Tōhoku kaihatsu 120 nen, pp. 18-22. In this calculation, Niigata Prefecture was included as a seventh Tōhoku prefecture. See also Umemura Mataji and Yamamoto Yūzō, “Gaisetsu 1860-85 nen” in Kaikoku to ishin, Nihon keizaishi 3 (Iwanami Shoten, 1989), pp. 30-32.
13 Iwamoto, “Tōhoku kaihatsu o kangaeru,” pp. 244-46.
14 Iwamoto, Tōhoku kaihatsu 120 nen, pp. 50-53.
15 Nanba, pp. 220-223.
16 Christopher Noss, Tōhoku, the Scotland of Japan (Board of Foreign Missions Reformed Church in the United States, 1918), p. 15.
19 Nanba, pp. 230-32.
20 Doss, p. 265.
22 Nitobe Inazo, Nogyō homron, Meiji Taisho nōsei keizai meichoshū (Nōsan’yōson Bunka Kyōkai, 1976), pp. 263-79; Iwamoto, Tōhoku kaihatsu 120 nen, pp. 43-44.
23 Shōrai no Tōhoku, p. 1; Iwamoto, Tōhoku kaihatsu 120 nen, p. 60.
25 Iwamoto, Tōhoku kaihatsu 120 nen, pp. 61-63.
31 Shioya, pp. 260-65.
32 Shioya, pp. 239-44.
33 Iwamoto, Tōhoku kaihatsu 120 nen, pp. 3-14.
34 According to Iwamoto (Tōhoku kaihatsu 120 nen, p. 3), 14 daimyo representatives attended the full meeting on time; 10 representatives, including Akita’s, arrived late.
35 Shioya, p. 281.
36 Shioya, pp. 289-94.
37 Saitō Sanenori, Kōzan to kōzanshuraku - Akita-ken no kōzan to shuraku no eiko seisui (Taimeidō, 1980), pp. 102-06.
38 Ani-chō shi, pp. 723-36.
41 Mining in Japan Past and Present, pp. 172-78; Kosaka-cho shi, pp. 424-45.
42 Shioya, pp. 294-97.
44 See Saitō Sanenori, Kōzan to kōzanshuraku - Akita-ken no kōzan to shuraku no eiko seisui (Taimeidō, 1980) and Iwama Hideo, Sangyō chiiki shakai no keisei satshensei - Hitachi kōkōyō chiiki shakai o chūshin to shite (Kokin Shoin, 1993).
46 “Akita daikan,” in Shiraretaru Akita, p. 95.
47 Abe Michi’ie gives a good account of the details of the trip in “Akita junyūki” (Shiraretaru Akita, pp. 203-14). In “Akita ken junshi ki,” Wainai Kitoku stated that there were 16 journalists from Tokyo on the train; others from Ibaraki and Yamagata joined later (Shiraretaru Akita, p. 248).
48 See, for example, the comments by Nakano Sejō in “Tōhoku Yōranki” (Shiraretaru Akita, pp. 328-30).
50 See Nakano Seigō’s final comment, p. 346.
52 “Nihon ichi no Akita,” in Shiraretaru Akita, p. 35.
53 “Tōhoku yūranki,” p. 316.
57 “Akita junyūki,” p. 245.
60 Shiraretaru Akita, pp. 316-46.
61 “Nihon ichi no Akita,” p. 35.
63 Preface, Shiraretaru Akita.
64 Preface, Shiraretaru Akita.
66 See the conclusion to “Regions in History,” pp. 24-27.